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868 disciplined to prevent her from escaping the much
593 cherished traditional education. Discipline is weakened, however, when the nurse is not the daughter of the woman engaging her. In these circumstances the mistress, fearing to lose the nurse's services, tolerates behaviour she would not countenance in her own daughter.

868 In the process of training, the young girl is expected to be competent in household duties as early as possible. Mothers have frequently told me that girls who begin practising household duties later than the school-going age, are generally very inefficient in domestic work; thus in their early discipline mothers protect themselves against future blame for poor training.

Apart from the primary motive of training the young girl as a prospective wife, the mother is influenced by her desire to make her daughter of practical use to herself as soon as possible. The help from girls of school-
[594] going age greatly relieves the constant pressure of a woman's household tasks. This training also makes a girl observe feeding manners more strictly.

861 In Luo families, a young girl is at the mercy of every-
593 one except her younger brothers and sisters. When disobedient she is whipped with a stick. She thus becomes equally tyrannical towards her juniors when they disobey her. One girl told me that if her sister disobeyed her she seized the child, knocked her down, and beat her. This reflects the general attitude.

857 *Nursing.* Although some girls of this later age act as nurses, nursing proper is more characteristic of the earlier stage. When she nears the age of eleven, the young girl rebels against nursing and runs back to her home or, if nursing her own brothers and sisters, escapes to relatives out of reach of her immediate family. This
[856] break takes place as soon as the breasts begin to develop and is perhaps a revolutionary step caused by the grow-

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end [illegible]king advantage of the institution of polygamy [illegible]en acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls.

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction.

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend.

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a

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schooling of wives, but modern young women sometimes rebel against this ordered régime, choosing rather to do as they please in their new homes.

Since the introduction of the plough, the part played by men in the cultivation of the fields has greatly increased. Clearing and ploughing are now done by men, but planting and harvesting are still carried on largely by women.

Women's organizations. In the past, women's activities were limited in number. Apart from the communal dancing parties in which they took a great pride, there existed among certain related families councils to settle disputes and misconduct among women. This communal organization has tended to become weaker with the growing family individuality introduced by modern conditions.

While Christian influence has increased their freedom by releasing women from tribal prejudice and by widening the horizon of men's views, pagan women are still hampered from taking an active part in modern economic and social activities.

Women's organizations range from small religious groups to registered co-operative societies. The management of the co-operative societies is largely in the hands of Christian women. They are thus more progressive than their pagan neighbours, although the gap is rapidly narrowing owing to the influence exercised by Christian women upon the other women in the community.

The changing economy. Before the introduction of a money economy, the garden formed the basis of the economic life of women. Their transactions depended on garden produce which they bartered in exchange for live animals. The more industrious and economical thus acquired considerable wealth, supplementing garden

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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is generaly accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

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Although a larger number of males would normally be preferred, a family of exclusively male children is regarded as a disadvantage because of the economic burden incurred when the sons want to marry. But when a father has only female children, his position is considered as 'dead', for a family is only considered as living when there are male members to perpetuate the line.

The Social Environment

Lineage. Social relationship among the Luo is determined by the strict manner in which their society is organized. Since the social structure follows a system of lineage (*dhoudi*, pl., *dhoot*, sing.), the exogamous limits or the limits within which intermarriage may not take place, depend on the relationship between these lineages. When relationships are close, the lineages unite through their dead originators until a common ancestor is reached. The lineages continue to grow, thus stretching the distance of relationship further and further. The breaking of the rule against intermarriage depends on the attitude of the living members of the lineages and the distance between them and their ancestors.

In addition to the regulation of matrimonial relationships, the structure of the society also determines ritual observances and funeral ceremonies among the Luo, while the relationship between the different lineages is characterized by competition, which is often a feature of polygamous homes.

Family relationships. The difference between monogamous and polygamous homes is found not only in the status of the women, but also in the psychological attitude towards the parents resulting from the husband and wife relationship. Although it is generally assumed that the focus of family life is the father, the degree of

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595 initiative and freedom among women is greater in polygamous families than in monogamous ones. In the latter there is a greater dependence on the father, whereas the father of a polygamous household is relatively free from the many responsibilities imposed upon the heads of monogamous families.

The wife of a monogamist usually has a greater share of her husband's wealth than the wife of a polygamist. In families where there are many wives, the relationship between a husband and any one of his wives depends on the personal attention that he receives. Often the provision of food is a very important factor, because there is a natural tendency to discriminate against those wives who do not give enough of their food to the husband. The polygamous father demands obedience from both his children and his wives but in the main he leaves the women to support themselves.

In this way a sort of individuality develops among the different houses of the one family. In the upbringing of her children each mother aims at instilling a competitive spirit between her children and those of the other houses. Hence contact between the father and his children is rather lessened, while his detached position increases the children's fear of him. The father's personal assistance goes largely to the youngest wife, from whom he gets most of his personal attention, but he normally continues to respect the position of his chief wife.

In the monogamous family the economic fluctuation in the fortune of the father has results which are felt throughout the family, and here, too, there are instances where the family is supported by the mother. In both types of family, however, the disciplinary action of the father is more authoritative than that of the mother, though the children may naturally prefer the parent who is more lenient and sympathetic.